

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

● 484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

291 This is the so-called taurón, or
140 cont./

789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows:

"Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with.
And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
 [29] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
 [25] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of
 moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side
 at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the
 heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes
 (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the
 first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
 291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
 171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
 182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana
 Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
 stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the
 [46] sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing
 so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
 177 their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called pural while
 192 the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name,
 "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough
 to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
 the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
 [58] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use,
 [17] but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern.
 These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
 [53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
 dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these,
 with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an
 allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are some-
 times used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates, 133 Some
 of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The
 dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
 291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
 [17] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
 European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively
 as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taure-
 pán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally
 positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as say-
 ing in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities
 to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree
 with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

534
171

Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taupénes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Anekmas.

Humming top — Known among Taupénes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum

Metal jingle rattles and bells

Kettledrum

Tubular drum

Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"

Bullroarer

Shell trumpet

Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.

Complex trumpets

Clarinets¹⁶⁴

Globular flutes

Notched flutes (queñas)

Flutes with attached ducts

Panpipes¹⁶⁵

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177
174

With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

434
34
[62]
[43]

Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

434

501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyses]

449/501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those frequented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

[487] In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with [412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges (Fig. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-y?) 491 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a complete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, 499 [824] so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some 484 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map, 491 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no 171

- 484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
 491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
 171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map. Iana bridges especially typifying north-
 western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while
 complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole
 bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two
 in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed
 in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of sup-
 port on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between
 plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches
 in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three
 piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion
 downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not
 lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the
 ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse
 piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see
 or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg
 reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
 484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the
 canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
 [407] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up
 and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and
 seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekmas use bark canoes, the so-called
 [109] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-
 617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of
 woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels,
 but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes
 are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes
 now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of
 a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also
 serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate
 piece of wood as in some Makuchí dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).

[92] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and
 this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the
 Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two
 words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
 [224] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawan-yé, probably a species of Nectandra.
 [171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks
 to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
 595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
 162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
 461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men

The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.

Clearing and planting of conuces.

All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.

Women

Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.

Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
246 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident
that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite,
ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice
common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here,
since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh
now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15
114 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155
171 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
158 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasion-
al clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364
177 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122
296 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own
clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree
to their spending so much time on ours.

273
296 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202
[101] 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[148] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
Arekunas (i. e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not
recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their
number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not
know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes,
although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness
of such messages.

171
372 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
311 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that
this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians?
In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage
(but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number